44:Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date)1941 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

243 yard, and this work is mostly done before building the fence. This *alasiyáń* serves several very useful purposes: it allows the builder of the fence a clear space for his work and the occasional passerby an easy passage; it prevents the vines from overgrowing the fence and ultimately bringing about its downfall, not exactly on account of their weight, but by causing it to rot through an excess of moisture; and finally it serves for a scarecrow to wild animals, because, when they emerge from the bushes, this clear path barred by a fence of canes always looks suspicious to them.

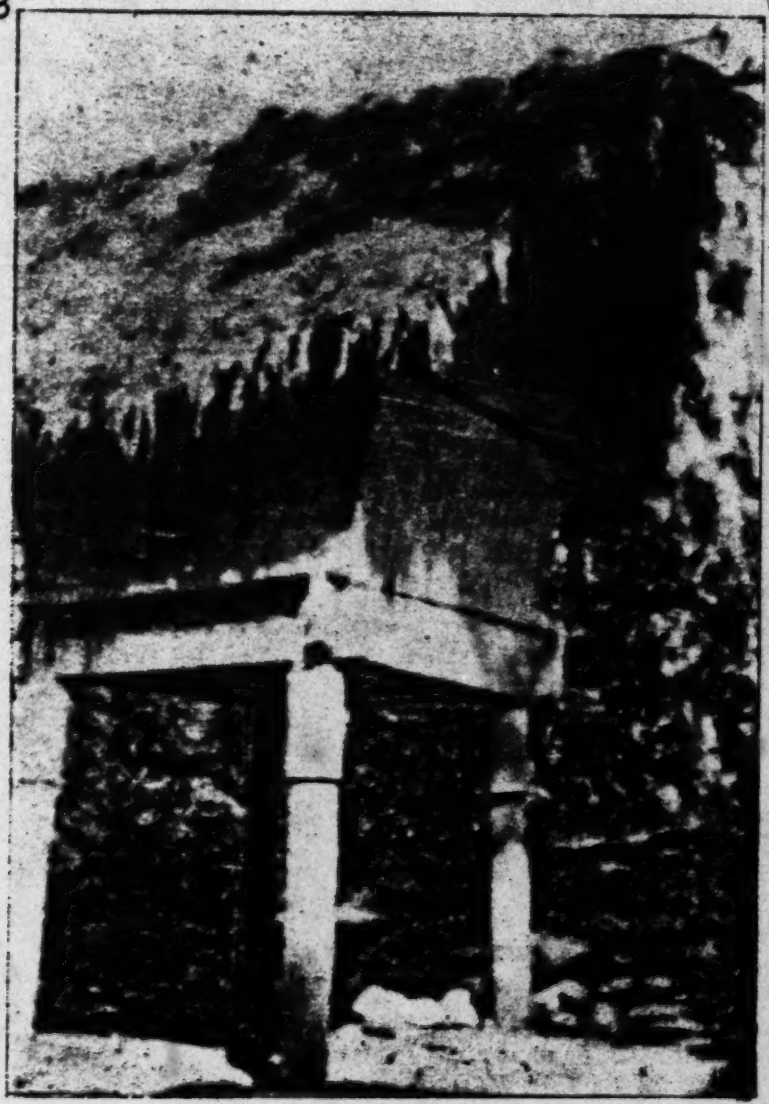
243 343 And now as to the *sízăy*-hut, without which no rice field is complete. The *sízăy* is a hut, either big or small, raised on posts, but not as high above the ground as an ordinary house, and made of light materials, as bamboo, canes of bamboo grass, rattan, cogon-grass, leaves, stems of young bamboo grass, palm leaves, etc. The posts are often nothing but stems of the *lańpá*-palm (Livistona rotundifolia, Mart.). The only distinctive features of the *sízăy* are: that it is built in a rice field and that it is square in shape (*magbakál*). If length and breadth were not equal, the Isneg believe that everything would go wrong with the crop.

Here the farmer and his family find shelter from sun and rain. Here they often take their midday meal for weeks at a time, even sometimes for a whole month or more, according to the work that has to be done. Here on certain occasions, for instance when guarding the ripening crop or when lying in wait for wild boars and so on, they pass the night (*magtáw*).[32] Later on the *sízăy* will be the starting point of the reapers. Here palay will first be stored up, etc. I shall mention this hut again when I describe the harvest. Here I shall only remind you of a few observances that have to be attended to when occupying a *sízăy*.

243 782 Whenever you move to a new *sízăy*-hut, the first time you go to occupy it, you must offer *inapúxăn* (betel for chewing) and *aludákid* to the *Kapónăn*-spirits. The *aludákid* consists of a narrow strip (about half an inch) of coconut meat, cut out around the edge of a nut that has been divided into halves, and retaining its full thickness.

[32] This term *magtáw*, which usually means "to pass the night in the *sízăy*", also means "to die (under certain circumstances)": if it happens that, leaving your house in the village where you are actually living and going to your field in order to look it over, you hear the chatter of monkeys on your way, that is a sure sign that one of your housemates will die (*magtáw*). Does it mean that his spirit left home to wander about in his field and take his rest in the *sízăy* (*magtáw*)? Perhaps.

343



The granary follows the style of architecture of the house.

The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg- 262
plants, squash, peppers, corn, beans, camote, gabi, or [244
yams. Fruits may be: bananas, coconuts, pineapples, 245]
jack fruit, oranges, lemons, guavas, melons, *luchan*,
mangoes, or papaya. The beverages may be: coffee, [272]
cocoa, or water. Honey is included in the diet. From [263]
sugar cane are produced candied fruits and vegetables,
molasses, *basi*, and vinegar. A strong tobacco is raised 276
and smoked—sometimes in a small pipe; but generally
one leaf is rolled into a small cigar. Both men and
women smoke. Boys and girls start smoking at an
early age.

In growing these things, the people do not use ir- 311
rigation; but follow the *kaiñgin* method of farming. 241
A suitable piece of wild land is selected. The vegetation [312]
is cut down, allowed to dry, and then burnt. Seeds
are planted in the ashen earth by making a hole with
a sharp stick and dropping a seed in it The plot is [317]
is enclosed with a bamboo fence. The men clear and [462]
fence the land, while the women do much of the rest
of the work. In two years the soil has become leached
and packed by the heavy tropical rains and so sterile
that a new *kaiñgin* is made elsewhere.

The rice is an upland variety which does not re- 243
quire much water. The seeds are planted during the
beginning of the rainy season in April and May. When
ripe, the heads are cut off by hand, using a miniature
aliwa. These heads are gathered into bundles, tied, and [25]
then stored in a specially built square granary whose 343]
architectural design follows that of the house. Tobacco 249
and vegetables are usually planted during January af- 244
ter the harvest, in the *kaiñgins* where rice was grown.

When the woman wishes some rice to cook, she 252
threshes several bundles on a mat or skin with a club; 412

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao OA19
Apayao OA5
Isneg
Bontok OA12

 A 341 343.

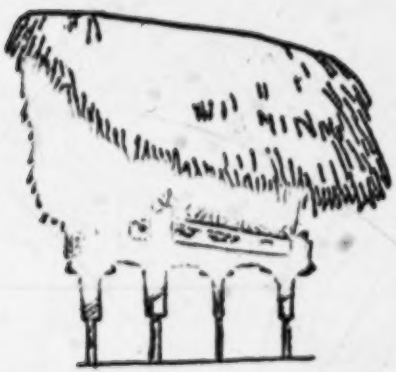


Fig. 10. — An Isneg granary (after Vanoverbergh).

I 341 343 171 335 also different: the storehouse rests on four girders mortised across one another on the same level with their ends protruding beyond the joint, which joints stand directly on the foundation posts. It is not surprising to find such simple supports nowadays under an increasing number of northern granaries whose walls are made of solid mortised planks.

B 341 342 [735] Under the general designation of "huts" we include field shelters and temporary campsites, the community dormitories of the Bontocs (*ato* for boys, *olog* for girls), and, somewhat unchivalrously perhaps, the houses of the poor. These structures are generally of somewhat makeshift character, but almost always have a ridgepole with a two-face roof (although rarely a simple sloping one-face "shed" roof). The walls of such huts are never wooden; they are most typically grass thatch, reeds or *sawali*, but sometimes bark. Three types B [824] [362] of floor are utilized, depending upon the permanence of the building — a reed mat on the ground itself, an elevated bed-like platform independent of the rest of

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao OA19
Apayao OA5
Igorot OA20
Nabaloi
Bontok OA12
Philippines OA1

lects (e.g., Ilocano *balay*, Cagayan Negrito *bali'*, Ibanag *bale*) and pretty generally throughout the Philippines (e.g., Mandayan *baey*, Tagalog *bahay*) — to say nothing of far Polynesia (e.g., Hawaiian *hale*, Samoan *fali*). The Bontocs, however, call their houses *afong*.

Bawi is another pan-Montane word which certainly appears to be cognate with *bali*, yet in almost all dialects both words are present and the distinction between them consistent — *bali* is "house" and *bawi* is "hut". More specifically, a *bawi* is a temporary or casual shelter like a campsite; in no dialect is it applied to buildings permanently occupied as dwellings. An element of permanence is incidentally lent some of the *bawi* in the Bontoc area because of the fact that such look-out or omen-seeking campsites on the ridges outside the town limits were prominent features of warfare in the old head-taking days, and trips to such sites have nowadays been fossilized into religious ceremonies which make the *bawi* somewhat shrinelike. Travelers who find themselves in between settlements at nightfall or in the face of threatening thunder-heads may build a grass *bawi*, and so might workers who have to stay all day in the hot sun in the fields. In Apayao the same term is applied to the simple roof erected over a blacksmith's forge. But generally, huts which have even a small permanent role to play in the community life are not called *bawi;* in Kalinga and Apayao, for example, sheds or shelters in the fields from which children scare birds away from the crops are called *sigay*, and in Benguet *abulan*. The Nabaloi do not use the word *bawi* for a campsite hut as such, but have the term as a verbal stem which underscores its basic meaning — to